

THE AFFAIR OF THE TJUMBOK TRAITORS

Abdullah Arif

Translation, introduction and annotation by Anthony Reid.

Introduction

In several ways Atjeh forms one extreme pole of Indonesian experience during the Revolution of 1945-9. It has been recognised officially as the one Indonesian province in which Dutch troops never set foot (ignoring the awkward detail of Sabang and other off-shore islands). But it has an even more distinctive place as the province in which the 'social revolution' was most complete. The term 'social revolution' of course originated elsewhere, with the urban politicians trained in various schools of Marxism, for some of whom it meant the ideal but remote fulfilment of the revolution, for others a euphemism for violence at the expense of the privileged. The Atjehnese only learned to call their destruction of the aristocracy a 'social revolution' some time after it had occurred, and even then mainly for the sake of external appearances. They more frequently called it the 'Tjumbok war'. But within six months of the proclamation of independence they had eliminated from power, almost completely, not only the foreign elite but also the indigenous one. The pre-war elite, the *uleebalang* of aristocratic birth, complemented by a small urban Indonesian (as opposed to Atjehnese) intelligentsia, was replaced by a new elite of politically active *ulama*, religious leaders, complemented by a new class of educated *pemuda* (youths). As a result of the Tjumbok affair *ulamas* occupied the position of *bupati* in most districts, and subsequently the predominant influence of another *ulama*, Daud Beureu'eh, was recognised by his appointment as military governor of the Province. A remarkable unity was forged in the Atjeh leadership of 1946-8, but it was a unity based not on a Dutch education, but on an association with the pre-war PUSA movement.

As a class the *uleebalangs* of Atjeh were no more pro-Dutch than the aristocracy or bureaucracy of other parts of Indonesia. On the other hand their claim to political leadership had been very strongly challenged over the previous decade. The Dutch solution to the interminable Atjeh war had been to give the *uleebalang* class a stake in the colonial regime by bolstering their powers, whereas the *ulamas* came out of the war with no power but a heightened image as the embodiment of resistance to the Dutch. The old-fashioned *ulama*

ideal of resistance was clearly anachronistic by the 1930s, but in the closing years of Dutch rule resentments against uleebalang power gave rise to a more modern ideal, articulated at first in the urban press, but increasingly through the mildly reformist Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Atjeh (All-Atjeh religious teachers' association) or PUSA. Originally without political aims, its very success in uniting many of the most popularly influential ulamas made it a threat to the status quo.

This threat became a reality at the Japanese invasion in 1942, when PUSA provided the backbone of an anti-Dutch rebellion, in the expectation of being rewarded by the destruction of uleebalang power at the hands of the Japanese. However the Japanese found it useful to keep the uleebalang-PUSA tension alive, and maintained uleebalang domination of the government, while depriving them of 'self-governing' status and control of the judiciary. Tension between the two elites was high during the Japanese occupation, especially in the Pidie region, the centre of PUSA strength. After the Japanese surrender the widespread expectation of a rapid Dutch return encouraged the uleebalangs of Pidie to make contact with former Dutch officials in detention camps, in the hope that all their pre-war authority would be restored. Teuku Mohammad Daud Tjumbok took the lead in this movement, and his headstrong and uncompromising tactics quickly brought matters to a head, as described in Abdullah Arif's narrative.

The great merit of this narrative is its immediacy. Published serially in *Semangat Merdeka* between 23 January and 6 February, it was written within a few weeks of the events described. In April 1946 it was reprinted as a pamphlet, with a new preface and conclusion. The only other detailed accounts of the Tjumbok affair known to me are factually based on that of Abdullah. These are an Atjeh Government publication, Revolusi Desember '45 di Atjeh atau Pembasmian Pengchianat Tanah Air (Kutaradja, 1946), reproduced in the Kementerian Penerangan volume Propinsi Sumatera Utara (1953), pp. 64-75, and the unpublished Dutch intelligence report, 'Verslag van de gebeurtenissen in de Afdeling Pidie, die leidden tot het Verdwijnen van het Gezag der Oeleebalangs in dat gedeelte van Atjeh (het s.g. "Tjoemboconflict")', 18 April 1946, bundle 21/9, in the post-war Indonesia archive of the Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken. The closeness of the latter to Abdullah's account, despite the diametrically opposite bias, is a testimony to the latter's importance as a source.

Abdullah made no claim to objectivity. He was wholly committed to the anti-uleebalang struggle, not only by his prominence in PUSA but also through the death of his brother in an early Tjumbok sortie. His purpose was primarily propagandistic. Yet he was too close to the events to have mythologised the whole struggle, and some of the nobility on the Tjumbok side still appears in his account, in contrast to later ones. Even the passage of a month or two between the writing of the original narrative and the Preface and Conclusion of the March pamphlet produced an interesting change. Whereas the earlier writing suggests a civil war against the 'traitorous' Tjumbok group, the latter shifts the emphasis to a 'social revolution' against the tyrannical upper class. The change is understandable. In the interval not only had the Pidie uleebalangs who had sided with Tjumbok been executed, but almost all the other uleebalangs of North and East Atjeh and Atjeh Besar had been imprisoned or at least deprived of their functions. Moreover the 'social revolution' against the rulers in East Sumatra from 5 March had given added legitimacy to the populist ideas gradually spreading outward from educated pemuda circles in Kutaradja and Langsa.

Abdullah Arif (1922-1970) (1)

The writer of this narrative was very much a part of that strong Atjehnese tradition of rural Islamic scholarship which had provided the heart of Atjehnese resistance to Dutch rule since the 1880s. His father, Teungku Muhammad Arif, was a religious teacher descended from a prominent line of such teachers associated with the *deah* (religious school) of Langut (Atjeh Besar). Muhammad Arif was among the last of the ulama to hold out against the Dutch in the remote Tangse area. Captured about 1910, he was imprisoned for four years.

As was inevitable for one in his position, Abdullah had all his post-primary education in private Islamic schools. However he was fortunate in attending the Perguruan Islam of Teungku Abdul Wahab (see p.53) in Seulimeum, which in the 1930s was one of the most progressive in terms of methods and curriculum. Influenced by one of his teachers there, Aly Hasjmy, he began writing some poetry for newspapers. Shortly before the war Abdullah also attended the Sekolah Normal Islam at Bireuen which PUSA had established in December 1939

1. This information is derived primarily from Abdullah's widow Aminah, and from the commemorative article in Sinar Darussalam, 21, 1970, pp. 59-62.

as the apex of Islamic education in Atjeh. Naturally he joined Pemuda PUSA, and ultimately became one of its principal leaders.

Abdullah's career as a journalist began under the auspices of his former teacher Aly Hasjmy, first in the Atjeh Sinbun (1943-45) and then in the first Republican newspaper in Atjeh, Semangat Merdeka (1945-50). He later transferred to the Ministry of Information in Djakarta (1951-60), before returning to Atjeh in 1960 to help establish the new university-level Institut Agama Islam Negeri Djami'ah Ar'Raniry there. While on the campus as an administrator he obtained a degree (1965) from the same institution, and went on to Al-Azhar in Cairo where he obtained distinction in his M.A. (1968), specializing in *Da'wah* (evangelization). An excellent linguist, he had taken the prize for speech in Arabic at the first PUSA Congress in 1940, and was sent to Bukittinggi in 1944 for an intensive course in Japanese. Later he mastered English while on a Colombo Plan scholarship in Canada (1953).

The main and lasting distinction of Abdullah Arif lies in the field of Atjehnese popular verse. He grew up in the tradition of the Atjehnese four-line *sja'ir*, modelled originally on the Arabic form, and much used by religious teachers for pedagogic purposes. Some ulamas had sought to reach a wider audience through the *sja'ir* for the urgent political purposes of the day. The Hikajat Perang Sabil, composed by Teungku Tjhik Pante Kulu in the 1880s to inspire Atjehnese youngsters to sacrifice their lives in the war against the Dutch, was only the most famous example. Many such *sja'ir* were read aloud in the village *meunassah* (prayer-hall) where the young men slept, and they often dealt with contemporary events and personalities with relevance and wit. (2)

Abdullah's best writing should be seen as part of this tradition, in response to the new crisis inaugurated by the proclamation of independence. True to his times, he used the roman alphabet, modified the traditional rhyme structure, and drew his analogies less from Arabic literature than from the heady discussion in educated Atjeh circles of national and international politics, revolution, and ideology. But the use of this popular verse form for immediate political purposes was not new. Later a polemic developed through the medium of the *sja'ir*. The anti-uleebalang

2. See Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, (Leiden/London, 1906), II, pp. 100-120.

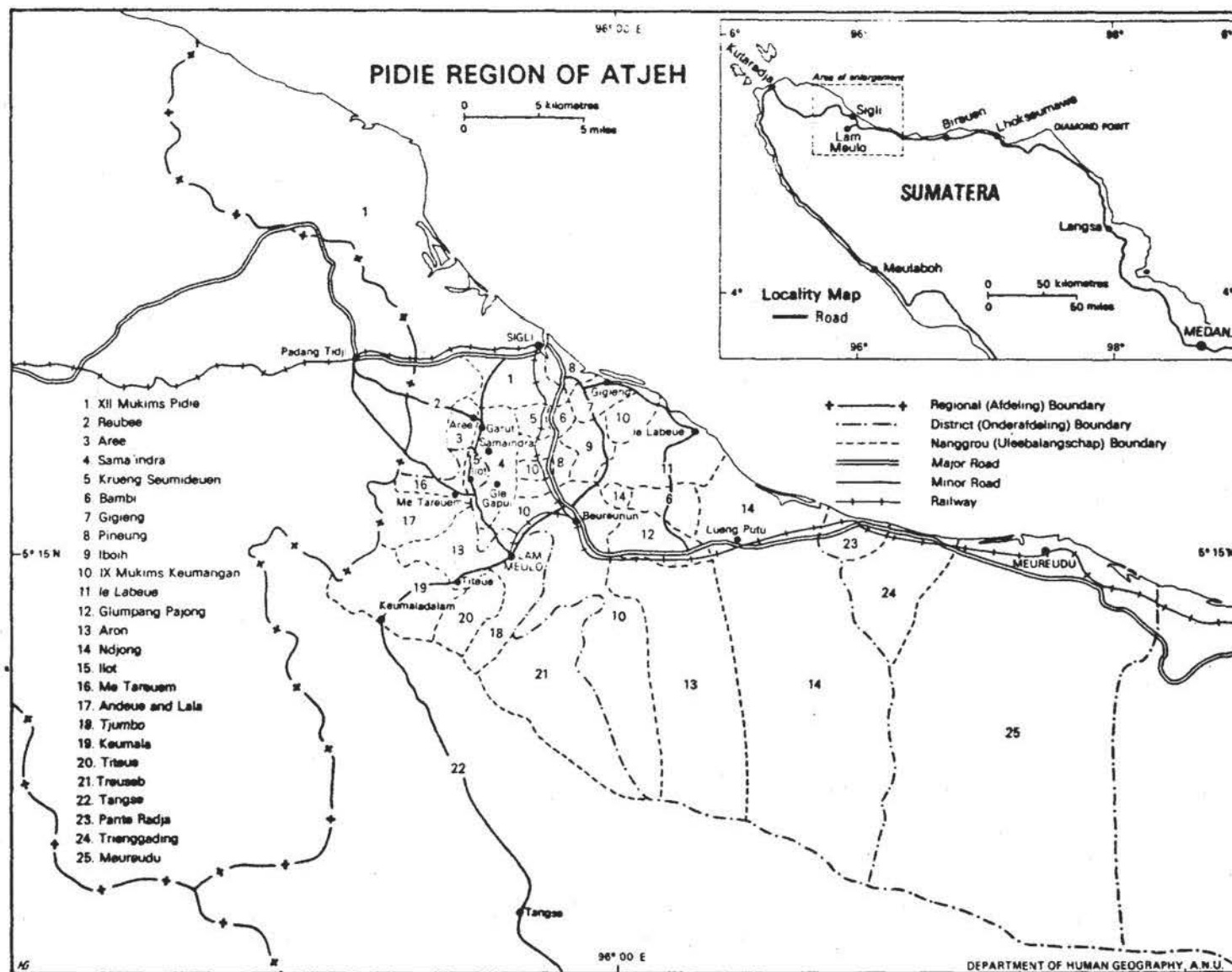
sja'irs of Abdullah and his colleagues Ibnu Abbas and Isma'il Muhammad were answered in the Suasana Atjeh series of 'Thusny-Shah', published in Djakarta from 1950, and attacking the new PUSA domination of Atjeh.

Abdullah Arif's output of sja'irs was tremendous, especially in the pamphlet series Seumangat Atjeh. Although the thirteenth and last volume of this series appeared in 1960, the majority of numbers were issued in 1945-6 and dealt with the development of the revolution. The new crisis of the Darul Islam rebellion in Atjeh prompted another three-volume series, Nasib Atjeh (1955?-58), as well as the government-commissioned Sja'ir Kerukunan Ra'jat Atjeh (1962) to celebrate the end of the revolt. In Indonesian prose Abdullah was less successful. Most of his prose, like the Peristiwa Pengchianat Tjumbok, was written hastily for newspapers and lacked any literary pretensions. His only other separately published prose work was the commemorative volume Kongres Besar PUSA dan P. PUSA for the 1950 Congress of the organisation.

Abdullah Arif died on 7 January 1970, as a result of a fall in his home. This translation may serve as a partial recognition of his place in Atjehese writing.

ANTHONY REID

Canberra, December 1970.



Abbreviations used in the text

- B.P.I. Badan Pemuda Indonesia (Indonesian Youth Group).
- B.P.K. Barisan Pendjaga Keamanan (Peacekeeping Force) -
 organised by Tjumbok.
- Kp. Kampong (village).
- N.R.I. Negara Republik Indonesia (State of the Republic
 of Indonesia).
- P.R.I. Pemuda Republik Indonesia (Youth of the Republic
 of Indonesia).
- T. Teuku - an honorific for members of uleebalang
 families.
- Tgk. Teungku - a general honorific, applied especially
 to ulamas.
- T.K.R. Tentera Keamanan Rakjat (People's Security Army) -
 the Republican armed force.

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Abdullah Arif

Preface

The bloody clash in Pidie Region (Sigli, Lam Meulo, and Meureudu districts) (1) between the People's Forces and the uleebalangs who wanted to betray their people and Fatherland, is ended. The uleebalang group, who wanted to defend the right of force and feared the loss of their aristocratic crowns, quietly made contact with the enemy of the state, namely NICA, etc. The people who felt fully responsible for the security and independence of the fatherland, in a mighty wave of patriotic feeling, rose as one man to oppose the evil aims and intentions of those traitors, until the end result was a clash and terrible bloodshed.

The man who acted as leader of the traitors' forces was Teuku M. Daud Tjumbok, aided by various other uleebalangs. It could be said that 99% of the uleebalangs of Pidie region were of one mind with Teuku Tjumbok in wanting to destroy the independence of N.R.I. (2) But thanks to the struggle of the people who were united in opposing the plans of those despicable traitors, the claws of tyranny were broken, and the hopes of these criminals who opposed freedom were foiled.

As a man who wanted to avenge the death of his elder brother, who was killed by a bullet from the Tjumbok party, I left my duties in Kutaradja to go to the cauldron of the battlefield, and strapped on my *klewang* [sabre] to crush the Tjumbok party and its followers. I advanced with the People's Forces and fought with two aspirations, freedom or martyrdom. Apparently the time of my death had not yet come, and although I was once surrounded and chased by the traitors' forces, I was able to continue the struggle up to the moment we managed to enter the Tjumbok fortress which was then open.

As soon as the fighting was over and Teuku Tjumbok had surrendered, I immediately returned to Kutaradja to continue my duties as a journalist with Semangat Merdeka. In Semangat Merdeka I told the story of the Tjumbok Affair right through from beginning

to end. The story was later also copied by various other dailies in Medan, such as *Pewartu Deli*, *Mimbar Umum*, and *Utusan Sumatera* (Padang), etc. In connection with many requests from the public, I put the story of the Tjumbok Affair together again as a book with several changes but the same basic form, and with additions and omissions where they were thought necessary. (3)

The whole of my story in this simple book has been written in accordance with my own knowledge of the Tjumbok Affair. Nevertheless, this composition is still in the nature of a narrative based on first impressions; in other words, I have written it in accordance with what I have heard and seen in the course of the fighting.

For all the many shortcomings which undoubtedly exist in this small book I ask humble pardon. Moreover, I especially hope that my mistakes will be criticised honestly by my wise readers. With the saying 'there is no ivory tusk without a crack', I place this book in the lap of its readers.

Abdullah Arif

Kutaradja, March 1946.

The Causes of the Tjumbok Affair

To understand the causes which gave rise to the sensational Tjumbok affair, we must first clarify briefly the situation since Japan surrendered to the Allied Forces, because that affair was more or less connected with the Japanese defeat in the recently concluded Greater East Asia War.

The account which we set out here is based on the account of Teuku Tjumbok Daud himself (when we met him before the affair occurred), and also from the notes of the traitors themselves which we obtained after their defeat at the hands of the people, as also from other accounts.

On 14 August, 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allied Forces, and with that the feeling of Indonesian Independence was in the air, from the city to the villages. On 17 August, 1945 the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence was announced to the world by Sukarno-Hatta. Everywhere you could hear people discussing the question of the independence of the Fatherland. The *Merah-Putih* [red and white flag] was flown everywhere. The appointment of the leading government officials was announced to every section of the community. B.P.I. branches were formed everywhere, which later became P.R.I. (now Pesindo). (4) The attention of all pemuda was concentrated on this centre of power.

At that time (5) we visited North Atjeh, and went to Lam Meulo on the business of our newspaper, Semangat Merdeka. In Lam Meulo we had the opportunity to meet Teuku Daud Tjumbok (6) and to explain in full what had happened in connection with publicising the independence of our Fatherland. During this conversation it seemed to us that Teuku Tjumbok was doubtful and disdainful of the movement to support the independence of our Fatherland, Indonesia. According to his view, we Indonesians were not yet capable of independence, because we were not mature, and the Dutch would undoubtedly return to Indonesia as quickly as possible to govern us.

While we were conversing, a telegram arrived from the Resident of Atjeh, N.R.I., announcing that Indonesia was independent, and requesting that the red and white flag be flown in the Lam Meulo district to celebrate our independence. Teuku Tjumbok laughed at the telegram and crumpled it up.

At every street corner in the town of Lam Meulo, B.P.I. pemuda put up announcements and notices about Indonesian Independence. Teuku Tjumbok ordered his men to tear down all these announcements and broadsheets. When a ceremony to hoist the Merah-Putih and public meetings were held in Lam Meulo, Teuku Tjumbok was never there; (7) moreover, all efforts to spread the ideal of Independence were forcefully impeded. People who wore the red and white insignia were ridiculed and laughed at in public.

On 12 October, 1945, the popular forces hoisted the red and white flag at the office of the *Guntjo* (8) of Lam Meulo. As soon as this was known to Teuku Daud Tjumbok, he immediately ordered that the flag be pulled down. Since he was the *Guntjo* and the person responsible for that office, the flag had to be taken down by his subordinate.

At the same time, by various means and all sorts of bribery, Teuku Tjumbok tried to get possession of all the Japanese weapons in the Lam Meulo district. According to what his son (Teuku M. Hasan) told us, the Japanese had handed over more than a hundred guns of various kinds including cannons, mortars, and so forth, and a large quantity of ammunition. In Lam Meulo district there were a large number of storehouses for Japanese arms, as well as for foodstuffs, clothing, petrol, and so forth. It could be said that in the whole Pidie region this district had the largest Japanese stores, and Teuku Daud as *Guntjo* could easily get hold of these.

Making Contact with NICA

Besides not respecting the proclamations of the Republican Government, Teuku Daud Tjumbok quietly made secret contact with NICA agents who at that time were wandering about everywhere. T. Daud Tjumbok also sent f.5000 in cash and two *kaju* of cloth with one of his men to the former Dutch Controleur of Lam Meulo. (9)

Many former Dutch soldiers were rounded up and ordered to teach his men how to use firearms, such as rifles, machine guns, cannons, and so forth. At the same time, several of his agents made propaganda in the villages to the effect that Teuku Tjumbok had received authorisation from the Commander of the British Forces in Java to establish his own army in Lam Meulo, although this was

purely to influence simple-minded people to join his army and become his followers.

With this sort of thing going on, the position of the T.K.R. (10) in Lam Meulo district was naturally very much disturbed, particularly when they received violent threats from the party of Teuku Daud Tjumbok.

Three Historic Shots

The Tjumbok party and its followers continued their training in the use of weapons. Meanwhile, an incident (riot) occurred in Sigli town, which involved a violent clash and considerable bloodshed.

This incident was caused by the perverted Japanese policy which sought to delay the surrender of weapons which had already been promised to the N.R.I. Government and was to take place at a public rally. All the inhabitants, both from the town and from distant villages, came down to Sigli to witness the handing over of these Japanese weapons. From the side of the uleebalangs of Pidie region there arose the suspicion that the masses wanted to seize these weapons for their own purposes, with the result that the uleebalangs too wanted to get in before the people, and hoped that the weapons would be given to them.

Just as the situation was becoming tense, with the masses flooding into the town without regard to the threat to their lives, the first explosions were heard of three successive shots fired into the crowd from the house of Teuku Pakeh Sulaiman, the uleebalang of Pidie. This occurred at 3.30 p.m. on 4 December, 1945.

This was followed by machine-gun fire and rifle fire from the very centre of the town. The crowd possessed only one or two rifles, while the other side had and used cannons [*meriam kodok*], machine guns, rifles, hand grenades and so forth, even though these dangerous weapons were in large part Government property. The only aim of the mass of people was to escape after the first terrifying shots rang out. (11)

Several pemudas and prominent people in Sigli, together with the Japanese, tried to restore the situation and make peace.

Thanks to the activity of these pemuda and cooperation from a T.K.R. unit newly arrived from Kutaradja, the bloodshed was finally stopped, after taking a considerable number of lives, most of them innocent people. On the day of this incident, T. Banta Sjam (12) of Peudaja, Padang Tidji (a pemuda whose name is no longer unfamiliar in progressive Atjeh circles) died as a hero after being hit by a bullet from the side of the traitors of the Fatherland.

A cause for great regret in this affair was that a very large number of weapons belonging to the N.R.I. were seized by the group of traitors in order to kill the people; moreover, a section of the Sigli T.K.R. itself was influenced by them. Finally, this section of the T.K.R. openly sided with the traitors, forgetting their solemn duty and disregarding their position as guardians of the safety of the people. Their action undoubtedly violated their military regulations, and there is no question that they were deceived in giving support to the traitors of their country and their people.

Tjumbok forms the B.P.K. (Barisan Pendjaga Keamanan [Peacekeeping Force])

The fighting in Sigli ended on 6 December, 1945. The weapons remained under the control of the N.R.I. Government. The people left the town and returned to their respective villages. Meanwhile, T. Pakeh Sulaiman fled to Lueng Putu.

Then on 10 December, 1945, (13) all the uleebalangs in the three districts of Pidie Region, i.e., Sigli, Lam Meulo, and Meureudu, were invited to confer at Lueng Putu, at the house of T. Laksamana Oemar. (14) At this meeting it was decided to form a tightly disciplined military organisation, which had no connection whatever with the T.K.R. Among other things it was also decided at that meeting:

- I To form and organise in each *son* (nanggrou, or uleebalangship) three forces, i.e.:
 - (a) Barisan Tjap Bintang ['star' unit]; its task was to make war on people who refused to submit to them.
 - (b) Barisan Tjap Sauh ['anchor' unit]; its task was to steal people's property for the needs of the B.P.K., and to burn the houses of people who resisted.

- (c) Barisan Tjap Tombak ['spear' unit]; its task was to seize all the educated and able people to be killed or slaughtered, and to kidnap people's wives and daughters. (15)

- II To join the war on the side of the Dutch, killing the populace in order to obtain the status and position they held in the former period of Dutch imperialism.

The above information is merely what we picked out from those of their letters we obtained, and also from the accounts of prisoners.

When the Tjumbok party was forced out by the People's Forces, we went to their headquarters in Lam Meulo, and there we found the written oath of the B.P.K. army. We reproduce it as follows:

CERTIFICATE

I, the undersigned, named..... residing at son [nanggrou] Lam Meulo district, of Indonesian ... race, a soldier of the Barisan Pendjaga Keamanan (B.P.K.) in Lam Meulo district, hereby swear I accept and respect the following:

- 1 Loyalty to the protection of the leader.
- 2 Respect and obedience for the commands of the leader and his deputies.
- 3 Courage and bravery.
- 4 Not to betray the Barisan Pendjaga Keamanan. Sincerity and honesty in carrying out my duty.
- 5 Not to enter any organisation without the knowledge of the leader.

Lam Meulo..... Nov. 1945.

I who swear

The Tjumbok party consolidates its defence

Then the B.P.K. army which was formed in the three districts was strengthened. Training continued energetically. At various key points strong defensive works were built. The central headquarters were at Lam Meulo, while branches were established at Meureudu, Lueng Putu, Glumpang Pajong, Beureunun, Bambi, Ie Leubeue, Gigieng, Pulo Ie, Samaindra and elsewhere.

The 'Anchor' Unit begins to act. People's property is stolen and looted.

The first action of Teuku Daud Tjumbok's 'Anchor' unit was to loot the Pesindo office and seize all the letters and property in that office. Pemudas who were Pesindo members, and especially leaders, were chased out and shot, until it became impossible for the Lam Meulo Pesindo branch to carry out its task. Pesindo pemudas who happened to get arrested were beaten until they were half-dead, tormented, and tortured, and there were even some who were killed or shot dead.

There was looting of the houses of Pesindo executives. On the night of 10 December, 1945, Tgk. Zainal Abidin and Hassan Muhammad, a relation of Tgk. Umar Tiro (16) (respectively Treasurer and President of the Lam Meulo Pesindo branch), had their houses looted. Goods to the value of f.240,335 (clothing and gold ornaments) were stolen. In this robbery one Pesindo member was killed and another seriously wounded.

The following evening these brigands looted in kampung Lam Udjong. Goods to the value of f.26,711 were stolen from the house of Tgk. Sulaiman (head of the Pesindo security organisation in Lam Meulo), and to the value of f.56,080 from the house of Tgk. Bendadeh - all these valued in terms of the former currency rate.

Tjumbok opposes the instructions of the N.R.I. Government

Teuku Daud Tjumbok's hostile attitude to the instructions and proclamations of the N.R.I. Government was not hidden; on the contrary, those proclamations were ridiculed in the most open manner.

To make that intransigent attitude clear, a fair was held in Lam Meulo where permission was given to gamble under the protection

of his armed brigands. When the Resident of Atjeh issued his proclamation forbidding anything which interfered with the economic well-being of the people, such as gambling, etcetera, Teuku Tjumbok extended his fair for several days, until the town of Lam Meulo resembled one huge casino. In acting thus, Teuku Daud Tjumbok said to his friends, 'I'd just like to see who has the courage to stop me'.

Meanwhile, the roads leading into Lam Meulo were fortified with help from the uleebalangs in the Pidie region, because he believed the Government in Kutaradja was going to send envoys and a military force to Lam Meulo to take away the arms in his possession.

Attempts to Seize Ulamas

After the Sigli affair which ended in such an unsatisfactory peace, the Tjumbok party used the *Imeums* and *Keutjhiks* (17) to spread propaganda that the affair in Sigli had ended in a victory for Tjumbok and his party. All the arms had now fallen under his control.

Now T. Daud Tjumbok conceived the idea of having a feast at his house in Lam Meulo. The ulamas of his district and prominent figures among the people would be invited. The day of this feast coincided with the date of the fair, which was held within the grounds of his house. One or two ulamas who were unaware of his evil purposes attended, notably Tgk. Hadjat (former *Kali* of Lam Meulo district) (18) and people of similar outlook. The other ulamas appeared already to understand Teuku Tjumbok's perverted intentions, so that a very large number stayed away. To the two or three ulamas who came Teuku Daud Tjumbok said: 'In due course I will repent so as to earn God's mercy like you Teungkus, but let it be after this fair, and let us first have our fill of the good things of this world'. And with that he raised his glass of liquor and invited the ulamas to drink with him.

Teuku Daud hoped thereby to lower the status of the ulamas, and ridicule them in front of everybody. Naturally, his invitation was refused by the ulamas, and Teuku Tjumbok proceeded to get drunk with his friends who drank with him.

Two days after this occurrence, an instruction came from Teuku Daud Tjumbok to arrest all the ulamas and educated people who had not come to his feast. At the time the 'Anchor' unit acted to

carry out its task, none of the people whose arrest had been ordered remained in their houses. All had previously left their villages and had guessed that the arrests would take place. Among those ulamas many moved to Garut, like the family of Tgk. Umar Tiro, Tgk. Sjech A. Kadir Kampung Langga and others, so that all those ulamas were out of danger. Two or three youths who were captured were beaten and ill-treated, and then decapitated....

Ill-treatment of the General Population

As had been the habit of the *Zelfbestuurders* (autonomous rulers) in North Atjeh in the old Dutch period, so now these people with the coming of independence wanted to retrace their steps by violating all the rights and property of the people. They believed that the special right given them by the Dutch to judge the people according to their fancy was now again in their hands, so that without further ado they took action to seize again the property that had been returned to the people during the Japanese régime. The contents of the treasury which were properly the right and property of the state were seized or embezzled by them, because they thought they had better rights to that property.

The people were ordered to each bring a piece of bamboo and a bundle of cane hemp to make a fence around the house. Whoever broke this command was arrested and punished severely, because he had broken the command of an uleebalang.

One resident of Lam Meulo district was beaten severely on Tjumbok's instructions, which caused him to become deaf, and was imprisoned for several days, because he was accused of having been brave enough to demand a gift of rice from the rice stored up at the time of the Japanese Government, whereas these gifts had already been embezzled by Teuku Tjumbok himself. One pemuda in Lam Meulo district was so mistreated that his eyes were damaged, because he was accused of having taken care of a female relation who had been ill-treated by the Tjumbok family. A girl was preparing to be married to a youth in Kampong Tjot Murong, when suddenly some relations of Tjumbok came to her parents' house and threatened that the girl could not marry anyone except a member of the family of Tjumbok himself; otherwise the house would be burned.

If we described all the cruelties connected with the Tjumbok affair, it would certainly take up a great deal of space.

Samaindra attacks Garut

Garut was the site of the *Pusat Markas Rakjat* [Central People's Headquarters] in this affair, (19) and various plans were being made in Garut to resist the threats to the people made by the group of traitors. Garut is 8 km. from Sigli.

Because Garut lay within the authority of the Uleebalang of Samaindra, (20) Tjumbok instructed that it must be he who destroyed the Markas Rakjat situated in Garut. On 11 December, 1945, Samaindra suddenly attacked Garut at 5 o'clock in the morning. This attack was interrupted because Teuku Tjhik M. Said (21) arrived from Sigli to settle the dispute. But the peace made by T.M. Said was a very lame peace.

As soon as Samaindra withdrew, Garut strengthened its defenses and prepared to resist the coming attacks.

Tjumbok attacks Me Tareuem

After plundering and looting various houses of Pesindo leaders around Lam Meulo, the Tjumbok party made its first attack on the mukim Me Tareuem on 16th December, 1945, at 4 p.m.

Me Tareuem lies 7 km. from Lam Meulo, and this village became the centre of pemuda strength in the Lam Meulo district. It was also the site of the only properly organised religious school in that district. For that reason the Tjumbok party began its attacks there, with the result that a great deal of damage and loss was suffered by the inhabitants, who had absolutely no knowledge of the issues involved.

After that action the people were quiescent, and took no action whatever against the Tjumbok party, which attacked at will. They only reported the incident to the authorities, and to the Assistant-Resident of North Atjeh, who resided in Sigli. The matter was investigated by Teuku Tjhik M. Said (Asst. Resident North Atjeh), who came at once with some military officers to inspect Me Tareuem. After seeing the ruins, and the damage caused by Tjumbok's attack, T.M. Said went on to Lam Meulo and held a discussion with Teuku Daud Tjumbok himself.

The following day T.M. Said informed the victims of the

attack on Me Tareuem that the Tjumbok party had absolutely no intention of purposely attacking Me Tareuem; it was only a training exercise. The people should remain calm and should take no action in the matter.

It was obvious that the people could not be satisfied, and suspected something going on behind this peace-making. This was one of the reasons which brought T.M. Said himself into mortal danger. It appears also from other sources of information that T.M. Said had joined the supporters of the Tjumbok conspiracy. (22)

The Popular Forces launch a counterattack

Unable to tolerate these continual attacks by the Tjumbok party, the People established a command to organise counter-attacks against the savage Tjumbok party. The *Pusat Markas Barisan Rakjat* [Headquarters of the People's Forces] (23) was situated at Garut, while small offices were set up at places which were considered important, such as Gle Gapui (Me Tareuem), Gigieng, Ie Labeue and various other places.

The top leadership of the Markas Rakjat was headed by Hasan Aly (24), assisted by other ulamas and pemuas from the whole Pidie region, such as Tgk. Banta, Peutua Husin Sanggeue, etcetera. The position of Tgk. Umar Tiro in this war was as *Panglima Perang* [commander], who at the same time advised the top leadership of the Markas Rakjat. (Tgk. Umar Tiro is the grandson of Tgk. Tjhik di Tiro whose name is illustrious from the Holy War. When Tjumbok ordered his men to arrest all the ulamas, Tgk. Umar moved to Garut to work out plans for a counter-attack). When T.M. Amin (25) returned from Kutaradja to throw himself into the fight, the Markas Rakjat appointed him and Tgk. H. Mustafa as an advisory board for the command. At first, the post at Gle Gapui was led by Hasan Aly himself, but later it was entrusted to the pemuda M. Hasballah Daud (son of Tgk. M. Daud Beureueh). The Gigieng post was led by Husin Sab, assisted by Sab Tjut and other pemuas. The Ie Labeue post was led by M. Husin, assisted by his friends.

Once all the people's forces which flocked from all directions had been gathered together, on the night of 24 December, 1945, a counterattack was launched against the Tjumbok party, which startled Tjumbok because it came so suddenly.

Tjumbok conducts a scorched-earth policy

After suffering the losses and casualties caused by this counterattack by the people, Tjumbok realized for the first time that the people's spirit was not broken by the attacks of his 'Star' unit, as he had originally hoped. On the contrary, the attitude of the people, both men and women, was becoming steadily more angry towards the group of traitors themselves.

Once it was clear that the spirit of the people could absolutely not be broken by those wild attacks, the Tjumbok party conducted an even crueller campaign, of attacking the people on a large scale, and setting the 'Anchor' unit to steal all the contents of villages which had been deserted by their inhabitants. Light things were carried off, while heavy things were wrecked. Water buffaloes, cows, chickens, ducks, etcetera, were carried off to be eaten by their soldiers. After that, he commanded that all the houses which had been deserted be burned.

An operation such as we have described was first carried out by Tjumbok on 30 December, 1945, accompanied by cannon, machine-gun, and rifle fire in the direction of Kp. Langga. In the course of that wild attack, Tjumbok made his camp at Kp. Suwiek (Samaindra), and a very heavy attack was directed at Gle Gapui, because there many people sided with the People's Forces.

During the Tjumbok party's bombardment of Kampung Langga, one shell fell right on the office of the Kp. Langga Pesindo branch, with the result that M. Ali Arif (elder brother of A. Arify), (26) the head of the Pesindo branch there, died as a martyr [*sjahid*] in the course of duty. Others of his friends were seriously wounded.

The following day, 31 December, 1945, the Tjumbok party continued its onslaught to Me Tareuem and the villages around it. At that time the People's Forces had only a few rifles. Thus the defences of the Me Tareuem people were breached, and the Tjumbok Party could attack that village itself. The 'Anchor' unit proceeded to carry out its task, looting and stealing all the property of the people in the place. Finally, Me Tareuem was burned to the ground, including the house of Tgk. H. Ibrahim.

It was the uleebalang of Me Tareuem himself who pointed out which houses should be burned; that is, the houses of the Pesindo

and T.K.R. pempudas. But as the result of a mistake, that uleebalang's own house was also burned.

As each village was burned, the building which was singled out especially was the former *Ku Hoin*, (27) after that the religious schools, and finally the ordinary houses.

After the burning of Me Tareuem, the inhabitants had to drift about from place to place, because they had no place to shelter. At the village of Me Tareuem alone, a total of about 50 houses and 10 other buildings were burned, including the youths' office and the supply of books for the religious school.

Besides Me Tareuem, Ilot, Lagang, Pulo Kameng, and other places were burned. The building of the Titeue religious school was completely razed. (28) Along the railway line between Sigli and Lhokseumawe several more villages suffered from this scorched-earth policy.

One of the cruelties of the 'Anchor' unit in the course of these burnings affected some women who were sheltering in a hole, and were buried under the burning houses. A total of 5 people were burned in this way. One elderly woman was beaten and whipped, then tied to the upright of a house. Then the house was burned, and the elderly woman was burned with it.

What we have described here is only an outline of what happened.

The Barisan Mati [Death Unit] from Tangse and Peudaja

Among the units which joined the attack to smash the Tjumbok stronghold, we give a special word of praise and thanks to the Barisan Mati from Tangse and Peudaja, which gave its utmost in the struggle to wipe out the party of the traitor to the Fatherland.

The Tangse unit was led by Tgk. Sjech Daud Tangse, and it was this unit which stopped the Tjumbok party as it was rapidly advancing to burn Garut and Aree on the day of the burning of Me Tareuem. The Peudaja unit fought under the leadership of the pemuda M. Djuned Effendi. From the time of the Sigli affair right up to the Tjumbok affair, this unit was renowned as the crack unit which

didn't know the meaning of death. Several pemuda from these two units died nobly, struck by the bullets of the hypocrites. Nevertheless, their sacrifice will be a model for other youths in the larger field of struggle.

A Letter from the Battlefield

As the war raged violently between the two sides, there were signs indicating that the Tjumbok party's resistance was beginning to slacken; but to hide his weakness Teuku Daud Tjumbok threw a letter out into the middle of the battlefield, designed to intimidate the common people into not continuing the fight. The letter was found in the middle of the battlefield, and was addressed to Tgk. Sjech Daud, commander of the popular forces from Tangse. The letter read as follows:

Lam Meulo 1 Jan. 1945

We give notice!

If you, and the Tangse people who are of your opinion, have not yet been brought to your senses by the losses of the last few days, and still want to fight with us as men, don't defend yourselves in the villages, for to do so will result in many villagers who are not guilty becoming involved in the confusion. For this reason we hereby give you an opportunity -- build your strongholds outside the villages, in places you consider strong enough. When your defences are complete, check once more whether those defences are strong enough, in your estimation. Then inform us so that we may come to attack.

Remember!

We are fully prepared to come to attack and eliminate the two or three principal traitors who always make a lot of noise to lead the common people astray. For this reason, as a reminder, understand the meaning of your past actions and read the text of this letter in front of the people of Tangse who are of your opinion.

Remember the victims who have already fallen!

To Sjech Daud
of Tangse

We, the leader of the
Uleebalang Headquarters,

T.M. Daud

Assistance from every element in the population

At the time the war, and the fighting was waging furiously between the two sides, help came like a flood from every class of people, not only from the inhabitants of Pidie region, but also from Atjeh Besar, North Atjeh, the Gayo country, West Atjeh and elsewhere. All of them were ready with their forces to smash the Tjumbok traitors' party which was rampaging so wildly.

Before the popular forces advanced to the battlefield, they were first advised as followers by the Markas Rakjat:

Brother Muslims!

Our present struggle is to wipe out all crime and treachery to the Fatherland. For that reason we hope that such crime will not arise on our side:

1. Do not burn houses, whoever they belong to.
2. Do not take private property, even if it is of no value.
3. All those taken prisoner must be treated well.
4. Refrain absolutely from striking a wounded enemy, for God will not help those who are cruel, and will not receive their prayers.

That is all!

After receiving advice of this sort, the popular forces began the attack to crush the traitors, with a strong determination to win or find martyrdom as victims of the struggle.

An Ultimatum from the NRI Government to Tjumbok

After the appearance of an article in the daily *Semangat Merdeka*, which explained all the possibilities to which the Tjumbok affair could give rise, and urged the *Markas Umum* (29) and the N.R.I. Government of Atjeh to take decisive action against the Tjumbok party because of its continued cruelty in North Atjeh, on 8 January the Markas Umum of Atjeh duly held a special meeting, and at that meeting decided to adopt a concrete approach towards the traitorous Tjumbok party. Besides sending a force of Special Police (30) and T.K.R. from Kutaradja, the N.R.I. Government of Atjeh issued an ultimatum to the Tjumbok party. We reproduce the text of the ultimatum in full as follows:

Ultimatum

The group centred in Tjumbok, Lam Meulo, and other places, who are armed and are opposing the People, are hereby informed they must surrender and cease their opposition, at 12 noon on Thursday 10 January, 1946.

If they are unwilling to surrender and cease their opposition, they will be humbled by force.

On behalf of the Markas Umum of Atjeh,
Sjamaun Gaharu, chairman.

On behalf of the Government of Atjeh,

T.P.P. Muhd. Ali,
Deputy Resident of Atjeh N.R.I. (31)

Assistance from Seulimeum

After the Markas Umum and the N.R.I. Government of Atjeh had made a clear decision to fight the Tjumbok party, which had committed treason, a force of *pemudas* from Seulimeum arrived together with the Government army, anxious to take part in the struggle because of their own desire to wipe out Tjumbok and his followers. In fact, before that force set out, some *pemudas* from Seulimeum and Montasie' had already arrived earlier, and they

fought fiercely with great bravery in the very front line.

The force from Seulimeum, fully equipped with modern weapons, arrived at the field of battle on 12 January, 1946, and immediately launched a fierce attack on the Tjumbok fortifications with large cannons.

Tgk. A. Wahab Seulimeum

At the time the fighting was in progress on a great scale in Meureudu district and round about, where the Tjumbok party and followers were behaving so wildly and cruelly, Tgk. Abdul Wahab Seulimeum suddenly arrived in Bireuen on his return journey from the Congress of the *Madjlis Islam Tinggi* which had just taken place in Bukittinggi. (32) When he arrived in Bireuen, the inhabitants of Peusangan, comprising every class of the people, were preparing to help fight Tjumbok in Pidie. Thus, with unanimous agreement, Tgk. Abdul Wahab was chosen the overall leader of the Markas Rakjat from Peusangan, assisted by Tgk. M. Nur El Ibrahimy, Tgk. Abdur Rahman Glumpang Dua, Tgk. Sjech A. Hamid Djeunib, T.H. Zainuddin Samalanga, Hasballah and others. (33)

This People's Force from North Atjeh, after wiping out the traitors who had made their nest in the Meureudu district, Lueng Putu and the surrounding area, went on to attack the fortification of Teuku Keumangan at Beureunun. (34) Tjumbok gave great help to defend this strong fortification, but because it was pounded from the east and the west by the People's Forces, the fortification finally fell on 12 January, 1946, bringing a great loss to the side of the Tjumbok party.

The Fortress of Lam Meulo falls

After the fall of the Beureunun fortification, Tjumbok felt that his foundations were already crumbling, but, nevertheless, the traitor continued to offer an extremely strong resistance with all the forces at his disposal. The reinforcements sent by the Government from Kutaradja waited for the Tjumbok party to raise the white flag and surrender to them, but the ultimatum which was sent by the Government was totally disregarded by Tjumbok. What is more, after the ultimatum was sent their onslaught became even more intense.

On 12 January the People's Forces launched a very heavy simultaneous attack from four [sic] directions. The Seulimeum artillery attacked from Gle Gapui; the T.K.R., with the Special Police and the People's Forces from North Atjeh, from Beureunun; and the unit of Tangse and Peudaja from Titeue. After fighting and exchanging fire with cannons, mortars and so forth from morning until dusk, it began to appear that Tjumbok's resistance was altogether broken, and the town of Lam Meulo was deserted by its inhabitants. Because it was already very dark, Lam Meulo town was not immediately occupied by the People's Forces that night, and they waited until the following day. In the meantime, Teuku Daud Tjumbok with the members of his staff left their fortress and houses, and fled to the jungle. The following day, when the People's Forces entered the Tjumbok fortress, there were only women and ordinary people to be found, together with a quantity of arms which had been wrecked.

Information from captives

After the Tjumbok fortress at Lam Meulo fell on 13 January, and the People's Forces occupied the town of Lam Meulo, the majority of the Tjumbok party's soldiers surrendered, while those who had sided with Tjumbok were detained for the meantime and taken to Garut to be investigated. After these prisoners were arrested and each gave clear information about the position of the Tjumbok party, they were freed again and the Markas Rakjat trusted in their civic consciousness in this time of independence.

Among other things, the prisoners related how harsh and cruel the Tjumbok party was in torturing members of the People's Forces, especially ulamas, who had been taken captive. During interrogation, they were hit, little pieces of their body were chopped off, and after they had had enough of this sort of torture, they were buried alive. An even more despicable cruelty, when it was clear that those who were captured were leaders in the popular movement, was to cut a piece of their thigh and throw it as food for the big dogs of Teuku Daud Tjumbok until the dogs seemed to have eaten enough of the flesh of men.

Indeed, for some time past, Teuku Daud Tjumbok had kept two dogs as big as wild tigers in his house. The expenses of these precious dogs were greater than the expenses of the entire household of an ordinary family. If he thought anybody had not carried

out his will as he had been ordered, these two big dogs were told to attack that person, in place of a sentence of imprisonment...(35)

Is there cruelty greater than this on the face of the earth?

Teuku Daud Tjumbok surrenders

After the Lam Meulo fortress fell on the date mentioned above, Teuku Daud Tjumbok fled together with some members of his staff and his family except for the women. The people followed and pursued the fleeing traitors as far as the mountains and secondary forest. After making his way through this secondary forest for three days, with irregular food and sleep, Teuku Daud Tjumbok finally surrendered on 16 January to a unit of the People's Forces which was looking for him in one of the valleys of Gunung Seulawah, not very far from the place where the train stops.

Besides Teuku Daud Tjumbok, others arrested on the same day were Teuku Hasan (his son), T. Anwar (the son of T.M. Hasan Glumpang Pajung), Teuku Muhammad Ie Labeue, and 12 of their other friends. After they surrendered they were taken by train to Sigli. At Sigli the people asked that T. Daud Tjumbok shout 'Merdeka' three times. Then he was taken to Garut, to be investigated as to all the reasons for his despicable acts.

The Task of Reconstruction in Pidie

With the destruction of the Tjumbok party's defensive fortress at Lam Meulo and the capture of Teuku Daud Tjumbok himself, the duty of the people of Pidie region to wipe out the group of traitors to the Fatherland was fulfilled. The struggle in the form of an armed contest is finished, and now the whole people as citizens of a free Republic of Indonesia must enter another field of struggle, namely the arena of the new struggle to reestablish peace and order for the ordinary people of Pidie region who are no longer certain what will become of them because of the consequences of the very cruel war. (36)

The people's intention and desire to make a clean sweep of all those who sided with the Dutch and their followers has already been carried out, by means of all kinds of sacrifice. Now around the Pidie region we see hundreds of inhabitants who no longer have

a home because of the cruelty of Tjumbok in carrying out his scorched-earth policy, to the point where in more than one village the inhabitants stay together in one house or in *surau* (prayer-halls) which escaped the burnings. How many children have lost their parents, how many young women have been widowed, how many people suffer hunger, how many, yes, how many ... things which we have not the heart to write about. All of this is the result of the cruelty and wickedness of the Tjumbok Party and all those of the same opinion as that traitor to the Fatherland.

In the work of wiping out the lice who betrayed the Fatherland in North Atjeh and around the Pidie region, we must truly express great gratitude for the services of the pemudas who struggled in the fight against the Tjumbok traitor, especially for the pemudas who died as noble victims of the struggle, and subsequently also for the services of the pemudas who are now continuing the work of building a new order in all the affairs of North Atjeh.

The effort and sacrifice which must be made by the pemudas in the work of reconstruction in the region which has seen so many incidents is very great indeed, because the matters which must be settled will demand assistance of various kinds - mind, strength, soul, and property. To settle all these affairs in a short time is a heavy task, but the pemudas of North Atjeh never complain in meeting acute difficulties, because from times past they have had their fill of oppression and suffering.

The way in which the pemudas of North Atjeh have already marshalled their forces in this new era gives rise to glittering hopes for the prosperity and security of the ordinary people throughout North Atjeh, and we believe that the tyranny which has always held the people down will not occur again in North Atjeh, or indeed in the whole of Atjeh.

Conclusion

If we now look around the Pidie area after that terrible affair is over, we will see changes as great as day changing to night, as regards the defense of the state and so forth. The large houses which were formerly only used as places of pleasure for the aristocracy have now become headquarters of the People's Forces and places used for the general good. This is only proper, for these

houses and other buildings could only be built in such a beautiful and luxurious manner through exploiting the property and manpower of the ordinary people.

One evening, just as twilight was closing, I was walking about in Lam Meulo (now Kota Bakti) (37) together with some friends and comrades in arms. This was two days after the forces of the Tjumbok traitor had been defeated. To the right and left of us we could see nothing but the former luxurious places of those tyrannous aristocrats. Wherever we looked, there was only silence and desolation. The large, lofty houses seemed as though occupied by devils and spirits, which had just been defeated. Our hair stood on end as we went inside. The general atmosphere made you want to scream.

Thus the wheel of the universe turns, giving rise to various events both horrifying and joyful. Nevertheless, once his time has come, no man can escape his fate. Even so with the aristocracy of North Atjeh, whose time for living tyrannously had truly run out. Willing or unwilling, they had to bow before the law of life and the will of the times, bringing their destiny towards its ruin.

We may see the sensational Tjumbok affair as the first shot in the eruption of the Social Revolution in Atjeh, and even throughout Sumatra. (38) Now the tyrannical feudal group is altogether crushed, but we cannot allow the condition of society to remain simply in a state of disorganisation. Let us rather reorganise as quickly as possible, until we are able to bring prosperity to a society living in peace and tranquillity.

God will support our endeavours!

NOTES TO TEXT

1. Pidie is the name both of an historic region centred around the irrigated area behind Sigli but often regarded as extending as far east as Peusangan and of a powerful *nanggrou* (to use the word preferred by James Siegel for what the Dutch called *uleebalangschap* (the territory governed by an *uleebalang*) in the immediate vicinity of Sigli. The three districts (Dutch *onderafdeling*, the sphere of a *controleur* under the Dutch and a *guntjo* under the Japanese) of Sigli, Lam Meulo, and Meureudu are generally considered Pidie region proper, and were constituted a separate Kabupaten in 1946. Until then, however, they comprised part of the Kabupaten (Dutch *afdeling*, the sphere of an assistant-resident) of North Atjeh, with its capital at Sigli but its eastern boundary at Diamond Point. This accounts for the writer's use, sometimes interchangeably, of the term Pidie and North Atjeh to describe the scene of conflict.
2. A gross exaggeration, significantly included only in this Preface written in April, after the widespread killing of Pidie *uleebalangs*. In fact there were a few strongly Republican *uleebalangs*, and a much larger group who wanted to avoid burning their boats with either side, but were eventually forced into Tjumbok's camp by the growing polarisation in the region. The first meeting of Pidie *uleebalangs*, on 22 October, agreed that they had no quarrel with the Republic provided their (pre-war?) prerogatives were respected, and they later sent a telegram to this effect to Sukarno. Semangat Merdeka 14 January 1946. Interviews. Ismail Jakoeb's interrogation of Djaoh Ahmad 16 January 1946. For the last-mentioned source, and for much other help, I am indebted to James Siegel.
3. Although my holdings of Semangat Merdeka include only 9 of the 13 instalments, those agree verbatim with the later pamphlet. The only changes in the pamphlet appear to be the addition of this Preface, and of the Conclusion given below in place of a shorter conclusion in the original.
4. The B.P.I. (Badan Pemuda Indonesia - Indonesian Youth Group) was formed on 6 October, and became P.R.I. (Pemuda Republik Indonesia) on 17 October and Pesindo on 10 December. The B.P.I.

was preceded by an informal grouping known as *Ikatan Pemuda Indonesia* centred around the Atjeh Sinbun staff. Aly Hasjmy, editor of Atjeh Sinbun, headed all these organisations, whose changes of name followed the practice of Medan pemuas, who in turn were anxious to keep in step with Java.

Abdullah has condensed events somewhat here. The Merah-Putih was not widely flown until after October 12.

5. Presumably mid-October. Semangat Merdeka began publication on 18 October.
6. Teuku Muhamad Daud, uleebalang of Tjumbok, was the dominating figure of the Lam Meulo onderafdeling, not only because Tjumbok was the only sizeable nanggrou in the district, and embraced the town of Lam Maulo, but also because of his personal energy. A.J. Piekaar, Atjeh en de Oorlog met Japan, (The Hague/Bandung, 1949), p.129, says of him, 'A forceful and energetic personality, uncompromising and domineering, he was a typical representative of the younger generation of Atjeh's noble families'. The Dutch entrusted the whole onderafdeling to him in 1942 when they withdrew before the advancing Japanese. The Japanese also made use of him, from late 1942 until the end of the occupation, as Guntjo (controleur) of Lam Maulo.
7. The largest P.R.I. procession and flag-raising ceremony in Lam Maulo appears to have been on 5 November. Semangat Merdeka, 10 November 1945.
8. The Guntjos (controleurs, or district officers) of the Japanese regime were simply recognised as officials of the Republic by the first Republican Resident, T. Njak Arif, though their official title was changed to *Kapala Wilajah*. All were of uleebalang families.
9. Many former officials, not only in Atjeh, made contact with their former Dutch superiors in the Rantau Prapat detention camp following the surrender, either out of genuine sympathy with the plight of the detainees, or anxiety to make amends for cooperating with the Japanese. Daud Tjumbok was the first of many Atjehnese uleebalangs to send an envoy to the camp, on 15 September 1945. 'Verslag van de gebeurtenissen, in de Afdeling Pidie', (cited p. 30 above), p.2.

10. Tentara Keamanan Rakjat (People's Security Army), the then title of the Republican Army, the embryo of which had been formed in Atjeh on 12 October from those trained by the Japanese. There were several members of uleebalang families among the higher officers, because these had been among the first to obtain officer training from the Japanese. In Pidie several such officers eventually sided with Tjumbok, and took some of their men with them.
11. This may be a correct description of the immediate consequences of the first shots fired, but it gives a misleading impression about the preparedness of at least a substantial group on the P.R.I. side. Some of the more militant P.R.I. units had substantial Japanese arms including machine guns and were very anxious for a showdown with the uleebalangs whom they had effectively surrounded in Sigli.
12. Pre-war Pemuda Pusa and post-war P.R.I. leader in Peudaja. He had been leading the contingent from Padang Tidji.
13. This date appears to conflict with the 'November, 1945' date on the SPK document reproduced on the following page. The probability is that Tjumbok formed his B.P.K. in November, but persuaded the other uleebalangs to extend it throughout Pidie at the 10 December meeting.
14. Uleebalang of Ndjong, described by Piekaar (*op. cit.*, p.83) as 'one of the most intelligent, most civilised, and most loyal rulers'.
15. The description of the tasks of these B.P.K. units became more elaborate with each retelling by anti-Tjumbok writers. The earliest reference in *Semangat Merdeka*, 17 January 1946, already described the Tjap Bintang (led by the ex KNIL soldier Putih) as the 'fighting unit'; the Tjap Sauh as the 'plundering unit'; and the Tjap Tombak as the 'unit to hunt for women and girls to be raped'.
16. Teungku Tjhik Umar di Tiro (see also p. 47) was highly respected as the grandson of Teungku Tjhik di Tiro (1836-91), and the leading surviving member of a family that had led the guerrilla resistance to the Dutch from the 1880s until 1911. Umar himself was captured in 1910, at the age of 6, when his father was killed by Dutch troops, and was not freed until 1914.

Although he had a traditional religious education he did not become a religious teacher, and his role in organisations such as PUSA was always a primarily symbolic one. The preceding reference is presumably to Hasan Muhammad Tiro, nephew of Teungku Umar, who became Darul Islam representative in New York and author of Demokrasi Untuk Indonesia (1958?) and other works.

17. *Imam* (derived from Arabic *Imam*) is the head of a *mukim* (parish, comprising several villages) and *Keutjhih* the head of a village. Both were secular officials responsible to the uleebalang.
18. The *Kali* (Arabic *Kadi*) or Islamic judge, was in pre-war times an official appointed by and responsible to the uleebalang for the administration of Islamic law in the nangrou. He was therefore often in rivalry with the more charismatic influence of the independent religious teacher, or ulama.
19. Garut, probably because of its proximity to the Dutch administrative centre of Sigli, was an important centre for small Atjehnese traders and for anti-Dutch sentiment since the late 19th Century. In particular, it was the home of such PUSA stalwarts as Hasan Aly, Peutua Husin, and T.M. Amin. Piekaar, op. cit., p.84.
20. Dutch sources ascribed the failure of the attack on Garut to the inveterate weakness and indecision of the uleebalang of Samaindra Teuku Ma'ali. 'Verslag van de gebeurtenissen in de Afdeling Pidie', p.13; Piekaar, op. cit., p.84.
21. Teuku Tjihik Muhammad Said as uleebalang of Tjunda had been one of a group of progressive uleebalangs in Lhokseumawe region who were arrested in the early 1920s because of their association with Sarekat Islam. Muhammad Said was exiled in Timor until the Japanese occupation. He was Guntjo of Kutaradja from August, 1944 until 10 December, 1945, when the Sumatran Governor Teuku Hasan appointed him Assistant-Resident of North Atjeh, in the vain hope that his credentials as an indisputably nationalist uleebalang might enable him to overcome the polarisation in Pidie.
22. The other specific grievance the PUSA group had against Muhammad Said was his apparent assistance in enabling the last Japanese troops to evacuate Sigli by ship on 20 December, where-

as the P.R.I. militants had wanted at least to force them to give their remaining weapons. But his failure was primarily a testimony to the inability of the 'official' Republic to prevent the clash which had by then become inevitable. Muhammad Said was seized in Sigli after the fall of Lam Meulo, and killed soon thereafter.

23. Revolusi Desember '45 di Atjeh, p. 25, dates the establishment of the Pusat Markas Barisan Rakjat at 22 December. However, as leader of the P.R.I. for Pidie, Hasan Aly of Garut was already coordinating action to some extent much earlier.
24. Hasan Aly (b. 1916) was educated at the Sigli H.I.S. (Dutch primary school), and was active in the late 1930s as a small trader, an agent in legal cases, and a youth leader. From 1937-40 he was a correspondent of various Medan papers, and wrote several articles critical of the uleebalangs. In 1940 he was acquitted on a charge of conspiring against the government, while his colleagues Peutua Husin and Djohan Ahmad were convicted and imprisoned. During the Japanese occupation he joined the judiciary, becoming *Simpangkan* (judge) in Kutaradja in 1944. About October 6, 1945, he was appointed head of the Sigli branch of B.P.I. (later P.R.I.) and in this capacity was the principal coordinator of the ensuing struggle against the uleebalangs. After it was over he was appointed an assistant to the new Assistant-Resident, Tgk. Abdul Wahab (Seulimeum), with the rank of *koptalir* (controleur).
25. Secretary of PUSA.
26. A. Arify was a pen-name of Abdullah Arif.
27. Literally, local court. The judiciary (Japanese *Ho-in* was a particularly critical issue, as the uleebalangs had controlled both the lower civil and religious courts under the Dutch. The Japanese removed the former in 1943, and the latter in 1944, establishing distinct judicial services with mixed composition in the case of the civil courts, but PUSA domination in the case of the Islamic court system (Japanese *Shukyo-ho-in*). After the Japanese surrender, sons of the more aggressive Pidie uleebalangs such as Tjumbok attempted to resume their pre-war powers immediately, but were opposed by the new occupants of judicial positions.

28. Revolusi December '45 di Atjeh, p. 25, puts this on 20 December, but Abdullah's sequence seems more probable.
29. The Markas Umum (general headquarters) appears to have been formed in late November, under the leadership of T.K.R. commander Col. Sjammaun Gaharu, to coordinate the activity of military, police, and the principal bodies of *lasjkars* (politically-based fighting youth groups) under the leadership of P.R.I. and Daud Beureu'eh respectively.
30. The *Polisi Istemewa* (special police) were an elite armed unit of about 200 ex-KNIL soldiers formed by the Resident, T. Njak Arif. They aroused some suspicion in the anti-uleebalang camp, and were incorporated into the T.K.R. after Njak Arif's fall.
31. The first Resident of Atjeh, the prominent pre-war nationalist and *Volksraad* member Teuku Njak Arif, went on sick leave on 14 December. He was indeed suffering from diabetes, from which he died 5 months later, but an additional reason was the feeling of some of the other Atjeh leaders that he was dangerously uncompromising, in his opposition to the remaining Japanese troops on the one hand, and the more extreme P.R.I. elements on the other. T. Tjhik Muhammad Daudsjah, uleebalang of Idi and Republican Assistant Resident of East Atjeh was named Acting Resident but declined to take up his post immediately. Teuku Panglima Polem Muhammad Ali, hereditary chief of the Sagi of the XXII Mukims (Seulimeum area) therefore filled in during this critical period, though what real power government organs possessed resided rather in the Komite Nasional and the Markas Umum.
32. The *Madjlis Islam Tinggi* (Supreme Islamic Council) or M.I.T. was begun in West Sumatra and extended to other parts of Sumatra in the last months of the Japanese régime as a belated attempt to rally and unify Islamic forces in the fashion of Masjumi in Java. The M.I.T. was brought back to life in the all-Sumatra Conference of 7 December which declared it to be a political party and elected officers. Tgk. Abdul Wahab, a prominent ulama and PUSA leader from Seulimeum, was elected to head the armed force of the M.I.T., known as the *Barisan Sabilillah*. Among the resolutions passed at the Conference was a warning to 'traitors': "if they do not change their attitude and their actions, then blood will be permitted,

meaning they may be killed". Osman Raliby, Documenta Historica, (Djakarta, 1953), pp. 136-7). In March, 1946 M.I.T. merged with Masjumi.

33. A graduate from Cairo's Al-Azhar, El Ibrahimy was the principal of the Sekolah Normal Islam founded by PUSA at Bireuen, which had helped make Bireuen a centre for Pemuda PUSA. A large quantity of Japanese arms had been captured in Bireuen in late November and in the following month were taken from the Guntjo of Bireuen by the P.R.I. group there. The anti-uleebalang force from Bireuen was therefore well-armed, and competently commanded by Hasballah (of Trianggading, not to be confused with the Hasballah Daud mentioned on p. 47), a PUSA supporter who had the benefit of Japanese officer training.
34. Meureudu, Lueng Putu, and Beureunun, the seats of the relatively powerful uleebalangs of Meureudu, Ndjong, and Keumangan respectively, lay along the main trunk road from Bireuen to Sigli or Lam Meulo (see map). This force from Bireuen was the first to draw uleebalang blood. The most severe fighting before Lam Meulo itself was at Lueng Putu, and the death of T. Laksamana Oemar was already reported on 3 December. Beureunun was close to Lam Meulo, and was separately fortified by the uleebalangs mainly because the traditional hostility between Keumangan and Tjumbok made closer cooperation impossible. The Teuku Keumangan referred to here is probably Oemar, known even to the Dutch as particularly rapacious and replaced by his son in 1938 on the accusation of extortion. He was a personal enemy of Tgk. Daud Beureu'eh, and appears to have taken a prominent role in Pidie after the Japanese surrender. 'Nagekomen Mededelingen betreffende het "Tjoembo-Conflict"', 25 February 1946, Binnenlandse Zaken 21/1; Semangat Merdeka 10 January, 1946; interviews.
35. The Muslim aversion to dogs, to which Atjeh was certainly no exception, would of itself be conducive to exaggerations of this sort.
36. Under the circumstances when these comments were first published (6 February, 1946), they appear to constitute a call for moderation. Despite instructions to the contrary from the Government in Kutaradja, the members of uleebalang

families captured in the fighting were killed in Garut during late January and early February, while others who had taken no part were also killed. A partial list of victims, with 48 names including those of most of the 14 uleebalangs of Sigli onderafdeling, is appended to 'Nagekomen Mededelingen', loc. cit..

37. Lam Meulo was renamed Kota Bakti (bastion of loyalty) in honour of the fighting there.
38. During late February and early March a force from East Atjeh under Tgk. Hussein al-Mudjahid arrested (but did not kill) most of the uleebalangs in North and East Atjeh. Probably influenced by some ill-digested Marxism operating through the veteran Idi communist Nathar Zainuddin, they seem to have portrayed the operation as in part a 'social revolution'. The more explicit 'social revolution' against the Sultans and radjas of East Sumatra began on 5 March.